1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
592 patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group of relatives. These are brought together through the workings of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost without exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might find himself in the center of five generations which would include his father's father and his spouses, father and father's brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. Within such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father, and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal (paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society, since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy applied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be inherited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been maintained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[12] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *medomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[13]

[12] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[13] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

1: Tiller E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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177 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at
877 the mission station in Chol-chol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural read-
562 justment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from popula-
582 tion changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SC4 Araucanians SC4 Mapuche-Huilliche

539 536 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[29] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 582 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-ñuke) that one may use the term ñuke for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[29] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

4 Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

element has to be extracted. For this purpose the *machi* goes provided with a worm, grub, beetle, lizard, or other small creature that can easily be hidden, and 756 753
made to appear as if taken from the sick person.

If the patient dies, the *machi* saves his responsibility by declaring that he

To avoid feuds and reprisals, the blame was generally cast on a *huecuve*, who had taken the form of some living creature, revealed to the *machi* in a trance, but was sometimes imputed to some individual against whom the exorcist had a grudge, or else to a known enemy of the deceased or his family. In such a case a hunt was made for the guilty person, and if caught he was burnt alive. Olivares, one of the Spanish chroniclers, described one of these executions:—

"Three stakes were driven into the ground in the form of a triangle. The 681
victim was tied to one of them, which was shorter than the others, his hands 756
fastened behind his back. His feet were fastened to the other two with thongs 753
thus forcing his legs apart, obliging him to assume a sitting position. A fire was lighted between his thighs, which burnt them, his vitals, breast and face. Meanwhile he was demanded to confess his crime and declare his accomplices."

Guevara adds that they sometimes rubbed the victim's body with fat, to cause him greater torment. This led to reprisals on the part of the relatives, and was a frequent cause of intertribal warfare.

The *machis* have no hard and fast ritual for these ceremonies, but each one 756
introduces the innovations he considers necessary. Their huts are known by the branch of canelo planted before the door, from which hangs the drum, symbol of their office.

Polygamy was common among the *machis* and still is to a certain extent, though [838]
not so much as formerly. Those who exercise the office are called *kenpe*. They do not wear the chamal, but a skin apron, called *pewen*, which is a sign of their calling. They wear their hair long, and use feminine ornaments. They were formerly greatly respected for their double functions, but now are despised by many of the Indians.

Under the heading of Ceremonies will be found a more detailed account of the medicine or witch hunting.

Morals.—There being no idea of sin, or future punishment for evil doing, 681
religion exercises a very slight influence on the Araucano code of morals. The Indian's ideas of right or wrong must therefore be judged from a standpoint different from those of Christian races. Two facts of the utmost importance must be taken into account in forming an estimate of this question.

First: the wife is considered the absolute property of the husband, and he 682
can dispose of her as he thinks fit, even to killing her, without anyone [562]
interfering any more than they would at the disposal of his other property. Secondly: the father possesses the right of life or death over his children, as they are part of his own flesh. If a father slew his child, they said that he was spilling his own blood. The same idea held good if a son killed his father.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the chicha was gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 124), 20 (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 453; Brouwer, 1892, p. 81), or even 30 (Sors, 1921, 38:46; 39:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 285), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Coña (*in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly maltreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 332; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:160). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of llancas (llaŋkas) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 562 [761] head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.' "

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so. 593 562

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then." 593 578 [626]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen 593

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Caniulaf; and Quele, "but Quele has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Cofiaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ŋillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe. [631]

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antelef Huetra, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of." 622 [562]

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1941), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ŋillatun. Hualme, the late cacique of Melrun, had no son to inherit his position, so the oldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Iapan

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

243 the land and another did the seeding; each furnished two sacks of wheat, that is, half of the seed needed. "And today we harvested the grain, six sacks in all—a profit of one sack for each of us. It is a poor harvest." Another informant owned land but no oxen and no seed. He had to give up his oxen as payment on a mortgage. A neighbor plowed the land and furnished the seed. Both men together seeded the land, and together they harvested it. Each got one-half of the harvest. When I asked a man if his wife seeded the land that belonged to her, he answered somewhat indignantly, "The land may [562] belong to her, but after all she does not rule over it; the man does that!"

Fields and gardens, it is believed by many, should be planted when the moon is waning. "It is the only time that the moon has strength." If rain interferes when the moon is waning, planting should then be done between the first quarter and full moon; never at full moon, new moon, or when there is no moon.

Complaints were made in all areas against small green-colored parrots (choroy, yawilma) that come in large flocks, practically every year, immediately after the wheat has been planted, and do much damage by pecking the kernels from the soil. Small children are sent to run back and forth in the fields to keep the parrots on the wing. "Finally the parrots get angry, give much back talk and fly away," said a little girl, quite amused.

Wheat, in the early days, was harvested by plucking the ears by hand, as previously described. Today it is cut with an iron sickle secured in a wooden handle. The spread of the opening of a sickle, observed in use in Cofiaripe area, was 7 inches; the handle 5 inches in length. The cutting edge of the blade had been serrated with a knife and was kept keen with a porous stone of volcanic origin found in the area.

The one who cuts the wheat grasps a half dozen stalks, more or less, with one hand a little below the ear (with little finger toward the earth), applies the sickle about 6 inches below the little finger, bends the stalks over the sickle away from the body, pulls the sickle toward the body, cuts the ears off, and lays them to the side, on stubbles. When enough grain has been cut to fill two outstretched arms, someone passes along, piles it up, and carries it by armfuls to an oxcart (pl. 35, *1*, *2*). This is done if the grain is thoroughly ripe; if it is not thoroughly ripe, and there is no rain forecast, it may be cut one day and hauled away the following. All members of the family, including small children, assist in harvesting. Anyone having a right to a share in the harvest of a particular field will assist in the reaping.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namunkurá of Collón Curá.

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people.

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trumpul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60–70	Malleo	Manuel Pañefülu
40	Ancapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuca	Shailueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Anibal Namunkurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillen	Curriumil
30	Lago Alumine	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Canicul
30–40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Panilef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ñillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. This has come about because women as well as men were registered during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.
[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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567 613 671 618 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 562 754 An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 562 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally [572] friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence.

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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses.

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub-lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed matrilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and matrilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they married or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government list. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have extended theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 523 [648]

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spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their spouse and protector in this matter.

The Composition of the Residential Kingroup. In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for intercervational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche*, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *kupuka*. While it is to *ñenechen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *kupuka*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillifucha* and his wife *huillikushe*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *kupuka* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, other of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillifucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sea), *trelkenfucha/kushe* or, sometimes, *pillanfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *ñenechen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *ñenechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connection. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

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of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, especially the *karuhue*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the greatest fear of a dying man is that he will leave no close kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe are ghosts of dead adults as anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *füllatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *füllatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *nillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Nillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; *he is priest* by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *nillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am*, *pu laku*, *kuifiche*, etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

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shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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772 554 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

772 562 769 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 562 [623] There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *dillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulwachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work